

- 61 यो विलो[प्याः] ॥ ³⁷श्रीमहीपालदेवेन [द्विजश्रेष्ठोप ?]पादिते । भ[ट्ट]-
श्रीवामनो मन्त्री शासने दूतकः द्यतः ॥
- 62 [पोस]³⁸लीग्रामनिर्यात . . . दित्य[सूनुना] । इदं शासनमुत्कीर्णं
श्रीमहीधरशिल्पिना ॥

Some of the Muhammadan Coins collected by the Afghán Boundary Commission from an historical point of view.—By MAJOR H. G. RAVERTY.

I beg to be allowed to offer a few remarks on the coins procured by the Afghán Boundary Commission, described by Dr. A. F. Hoernle, the Supplementary No. IV of 1889 of the Society's Journal having just reached me.

I do not pretend to a knowledge of numismatics, but of history: my object here is to clothe these dry bones with a short account of some of the chief events in the lives of those rulers in whose names they were coined; and even from this, brief as it is, we shall again have a proof that truth is often stranger than fiction, and we shall find that there is more connection between some of these rulers in their lives and misfortunes than might be expected.

The coin, serial number 41, which has been described as of "'Alá-ud-dín Muhammad *bin* Takash," belongs really to his father, who ascended the throne of *Khawárazm* in Rabi'-us-Şání, 569 H. (1173-74, A. D.), and died in the middle of *Shawwál*, 596 H. (1199 A. D.); for if the inscription be read, we shall find that it is "Us-Sultán-ul-A'zam, 'Alá-ud-Dunyá wa ud-Dín, ABÚ-L-MUZAFFAR, TAKISH, *bin* *Khawárazm* *Sháh*.* He obtained possession of *Nishápúr*, the capital of Mu'ayyid-i-A'inah-dár's territory, mentioned farther on, in 569 H. (1173-74 A. D.).

That it is a mistake to call this a coin of 'Alá-ud-Dín Muhammad may be seen from the following coin 44, which bears this inscription, "Us-Sultán-ul-A'zam, 'Alá-ud-Dunyá wa ud-Dín, ABÚ-L-FATH, MUHAMMAD, *bin* us-Sultán Takish." The title, *Abú-l-Muzaffar*, being that of *Takish Khán*, and *Abú-l-Fath*, that of the son. The other title, 'Alá-ud-

³⁷ Metre, *Sloka* (*Anushtubh*).

³⁸ The *aksharas* in brackets are illegible here; but the word *पोसलीग्राम* is quite clear in the *Amgáchhí* plate.

* See *Tabakát-i-Násirí*, pp. 239—244.

Dunyá wa ud-Dín, was borne by both. Before the latter came to the throne he was styled Kuṭb-ud-Dín, Muḥammad, but, on his accession, assumed that of 'Alá-ud-Dín, the title borne by his father.* The inscriptions given on all the other coins after No. 44; namely 49, 50, 71, 98, 100, 101, 103, 105, 106, and 109, although not worded in the same manner, *all* have Abú-l-Fath, and only *one* (No. 44) has Abú-l-Muzaffar."

Sultán Takish Khán, "the Khwarazm Sháh," as the Turk rulers of that territory were styled, was a very wise and sagacious Monarch of whose witticisms many anecdotes are related. He had a strong-minded wife, who, out of jealousy, on one occasion, shut him into a hot bath; and when some of the lords of his Court, who became aware of it, released him, he was quite livid, and one of his eyes was nearly destroyed. He was disloyal to the Khalífah, and this disloyalty was, subsequently, the cause of much misfortune to his son and successor, and his grandson, Sultán Jalál-ud-Dín, Mang-barní. He was also hostile to the Shansabáni Tájzík rulers of Ghúr.

Sultán Muḥammad, the Khwarazm Sháh, son of Sultán Takish Khán, was that famous, but unfortunate, Sultán whose extensive empire was invaded by the Chingiz or Great Khán and his Mughal hordes, an account of whose reign is given in the Ṭabaḳát-i-Násirí, pp. 253–279. His sway extended over a great part of Asia, from the frontiers of China to the frontiers of the present Turkish empire, and from the Indus to the Persian Sea.† He came to the throne in the middle of 596 H. (1200 A. D.). He reduced Hirát on three different occasions, and, towards the close of his reign, penetrated into Siberia, where "the light of twilight did not disappear to the vision; and, in the direction of the north, the glow seemed merely to incline from west to east, and the light of dawn appeared, and the day broke." He died in great misery and distress of mind and body in Shawwál, 617 H. (1220 A. D.). His son was the famous hero, Sultán Jalál-ud-Dín, Mang-barní, the Khwarazm Sháh, who, after keeping the Mughals at bay with a handful of men, plunged into the Indus on his charger before the Chingiz Khán and his sons, and the whole Mughal army, and crossed in safety notwithstanding the volleys of arrows showered on him.‡

* Ṭabaḳát-i-Násirí, p. 253.

† He likewise held sway over the tract called Banián, and sometimes known as the territory of the Koh-i-Júd, that is, the country east of the Indus, as far as the banks of the Jihlam or Bihat, north as far as the mountains of Kashmír, and south as far as, and including, the Koh-i-Júd or Salt Range. The Ḳárlúgh Turks in the Sultán's service held it for him. This tract now comprises what are termed the "Hazara" and Ráwal Pindí districts of the Panjáb.

‡ See Ṭabaḳát-i-Násirí, p. 291.

The mint name at page 10, which, it is said, has been read as “*Balúquán*” or “*Talúquán*” by Mr. Rodgers, is an error for بېليقان—Beleḳán, a city of Arrán, between *Shirwán* and *Ázarbáiján*.

That on page 11 read as “*Taliquán*,” is طالقان—*Tál-ḳán*, with no ‘i’ in it, and does not refer to the place styled “*Talikhán*” in Walker’s and other maps, which was called “*Tál-ḳán of Tukháristán*,” east of *Kunduz*, but “*Tál-ḳán*” here meant (also written طايغان—*Táe-ghán* by the Mughals and other Turks who change *k* into *gh*), “*of Khurásán*,” situated between *Balkh* and *Marw-ar-Rúd* on the *Murgh-áb*, three days journey from *Marw-ar-Rúd* in one direction, and the same from *Shabúrghán* or *Shafúrḳán* (the “*Shibarghan*” and “*Shibirkhan*” of the maps) in another, the *Murgh-áb* river separating them. *Tál-ḳán* of *Khurásán* was a famous stronghold; particulars respecting it will be found at pages 1003 and 1008 of the *Ṭabakát-i-Náṣirí*, and also of its capture by the Mughals, at page 1012.

The officers of the *Afghán* Boundary Commission were several times within a few miles, and sometimes close to, most of the famous strongholds captured or invested by the Mughals at this period, without knowing anything about them. I could have furnished them with much information on this subject; and had the Government of India supplied them with a copy of my translation of the work in question, they might have found, and explored, many famous places, and not have been ignorant of their past history.*

The mints of the coins Nos. 58 and 59 are the same *Shabúrghán* or *Shafúrḳán*, according to the same change of letters. Sultán *Muḥammad* first obtained sway over *Hirát* in 598 H. (1201-2 A. D.), and, on that occasion, coin No. 72 appears to have been struck; and again in 600 H. (1203-4 A. D.), and finally in 607 H. (1210-11 A. D.). The district called the *Zamín-i-Dáwar* followed, and on that occasion No. 71 was probably coined.

The mint name of Nos. 76 and 81 must certainly be سغد—*Sughd*, not “سعر,” which is meaningless, nor سمر. *Sughd* means a depression, a place where rain water collects; and the name of a town and

* The following is a specimen. In a book lately published, entitled “*Northern Afghanistan, or Letters from the Afghan Boundary Commission*” by Major C. E. Yate, C. S. I., p. 184 is the following:—“What the name of *Panjdeh*, literally the five villages, originally arose from, I cannot say. From the fact of the *Sariks* being divided into five clans or sections, each with its separate settlements, it would look at first sight as if they had given the name to the place; but this is not the case, as the name is of ancient date, being mentioned, so *Rawlinson* says, by *Hafiz Abru* in A. D. 1417.”

In the *Ṭabakát-i-Náṣirí* he would have found that *Panj-dih* was a well known place *three centuries and a half* before *Háfiz Abrú* wrote.

small district near Samr-ḳand, famous for its salubrity. Here the rulers generally took up their quarters, and it is famous as the Sughd of Samr-ḳand. The Sultán reduced that territory in 608-609 H. (1212-13 A. D.), and subsequently put its ruler, the Afrásiyábí Khán, 'Uṣmán, to death.

Likewise, the correct name of the mint of Nos. 77, 78, 84, 87, 88, 89 and 90, is not كوزوان, but a well-known place called Guzarwán—گزروان. The point of the ز appears to have been mistaken for ر. The 'Arabs, and people of 'Arab descent, called it Juzarwán—جزروان, changing hard 'g' into soft 'j,' as in Púshang and Fúshanj, Sijis-stán and Sigiz-stán. I notice in the note at page 51 of the paper on these coins, that Prof. Tiesenhauser read this word جوزوان, assuming that the point was on the third instead of the second letter. It is a well-known tract, and appears in our very latest new map under the incorrect name of "*Gurziwan*."*

The Sultán obtained possession of Ghaz-nih [*nih* is the Tájízík for a city†: "*Ghaznah*" is incorrect] by surprise during the absence of Sultán Táj-ud-Dín, I-yal-duz, in 611 H. (1214-15 A. D.).

Respecting the Shansabání Tájízíks of Ghúr and their coins, the letters read as حسلو after the name Sám‡, cannot be correct, much less قشلو, which is purely Turkish. The full title of this Sultán, the elder brother and suzerain of Sultán Mu'izz-ud-Dín, Muḥammad-i-Sám of Ghaznih, the conqueror of Hindústán, who established the Muhammadan religion and power at Dihlí, was, Us-Sultán-ul-A'zam, Ghiyás-ud-Dunyá wa ud-Dín, son of [Bahá-ud-Dín] Sám [See XI of the Shansabání Tájízíks of Ghúr, Ṭabaḳát-i-Náṣirí, p. 341], *Kasím-i-Amír-ul-Mumínín*." Consequently, the letters supposed to be حسلو and قشلو, are, doubtless, the word *Kasím*—قسیم in the last title of the Sultán.

Coin, No. 124, with the names and titles of both brothers on it, and the date 699 H., was coined, probably, immediately after the death of Sultán Ghiyás-ud-Dín, Muḥammad, when his brother, Sultán Mu'izz-ud-Dín (always mis-called Shiháb-ud-Dín by Firishṭah and such compilers, and Shahab-ud-Dín by English writers) became supreme Sultán of Ghúr and Ghaz-nih, and their dependencies.

No. 126 with the names of "Taju-d-din Ildaz" and Sultán Mu'izz-ud-Dín, Muḥammad, said to be thereon, but the inscriptions on which are not given, would be one of Táj-ud-Dín, I-yal-duz's coins, after the assassination of the Sultán by the Khokhars (always mistaken for Gakhars," even in *Imperial Gazetteers*, under the grotesque names of

* See Ṭabaḳát-i-Náṣirí, pp. 376, 1003, and other places.

† In the oldest histories, and also by Bábar Bádsháh, the name is written as above, Ghazní is a modern form of the name.

[‡ No. 116, Ed.]

“*Gickers*,” “*Ghukkurs*,” “*Gakkhars*” and the like). Táj-ud-Dín, I-yal-duz, was his favourite Mam-lúk, and held the government of Ghaz-nih and its dependencies; and it was always intended by his sovereign, who had no son, and but one daughter, that he should succeed him on the throne of Ghaz-nih.* After his death, Sultán Táj-ud-Dín, I-yal-duz, is said to have coined his money with the name of the late Sultán thereon, in which he styled himself, “the servant and slave of the Martyred Sultán”.† Both this Turk slave, as well as his Tájízík sovereign, like others before and after them, have been turned into “*Paṭáns*” or Afgháns, and this ridiculous term is still applied to Turks, Tájízíks, Jaṭs, Sayyids, etc., as well as Afgháns, after it was shown to be wrong and mis-applied, by Elliot in his work a long time ago, as well as by myself. Sultán Táj-ud-Dín, I-yal-duz, was the first of the Turk Mam-lúks who succeeded to sovereign power after his Shansabání Tájízík sovereign was assassinated.

No. 139. Coin of Malik Tughán Sháh. Tughán Sháh was the second of the Mu’ayyidiyah Maliks of Níshápúr and its dependencies. His father was one of the Turk slaves of Sultán Sanjar, who was entitled Mu’ayyid-ud-Dín, and he was the Sultán’s A’ínah-dár, or Mirror-bearer, hence he is generally styled Mu’ayyid-i-A’ínah-dár. When Sultán Sanjar raised several slaves to rule over the great provinces of his empire, Mu’ayyid-ud-Dín was made ruler of the Níshápúr territory. After the Sultán’s captivity with the Ghuzz Turks, and his subsequent release and death, Mu’ayyid-ud-Dín pretended to pay obedience to the late Sultán’s nephew, Sultán Rukn-ud-Dín, Maḥmúd, son of Muḥammad Khán, son of the Bughrá Khán, who had married Sultán Sanjar’s sister, and who had been set up over Máwará-un-Nahr and part of Khurásán, but Mu’ayyid-ud-Dín subsequently seized him in the fifth year of his stormy reign, and put out his eyes, after which he himself assumed sovereignty over Níshápúr and parts adjacent; and his sway extended for a time from Rai to Hirát.

He subsequently joined Sultán Sháh (*Sultán Sháh* is his name, not a title), who had rebelled against his brother, the Sultán, Abú-l-Muzaffar-i-Takish Khán, the Khwárazm Sháh, and was taken captive in battle by the Sultán and put to death in 570 H. (1174-75 A. D.) the date on the coin.‡

Malik Tughán Sháh, Mu’ayyid-ud-Dín’s son, who succeeded him, passed his days in riot and jollity. In order to strengthen himself against the Khwárazm Sháh, he contracted a marriage for his son, named Sanjar Sháh, with the daughter of Sultán Ghiyás-ud-Dín, Muḥammad-i-

* Tabakát-i-Násirí, p. 500.

‡ Tabakát-i-Násirí, p. 128.

† Tabakát-i-Násirí, p. 497.

Sám of Ghúr, the enemy of Sultán Takish; but, as soon as Malik Tughán Sháh died in 581 H. (1185-86 A. D.), Sultán Takish invaded his territory, seized Malik Sanjar Sháh, and carried him off to Khwárazm. Sultán Takish then contracted marriage with Sanjar's mother, and married him to a daughter of his own. Consequent on this, and his captivity, the marriage contract with the daughter of Sultán Ghiyás-ud-Dín, Muḥammad-i-Sám, was annulled, and she was contracted to her kinsman, Malik Ziyá-ud-Dín, Muḥammad, surnamed "the Pearl of Ghúr," son of Malik Shujá'-ud-Dín, Abí-'Alí. He was the uncle's son of the two Sultáns, her father and uncle; but he had previously contracted marriage with a Turkish hand-maid, the mother of his son, Rukn-ud-Dín, Í-rán Sháh,* and therefore he was not capable, according to the author of the *Tabakát-i-Násirí*, of consummating his marriage with that princess. On the death of Sultán Ghiyás-ud-Dín, Muḥammad-i-Sám, her father, in 599 H. (1202-3 A. D.), her uncle, Sultán Mu'izz-ud-Dín, Muḥammad-i-Sám, conferred on Ziyá-ud-Dín, Muḥammad, the throne of Fírúz-Koh, the territories of Ghúr, Gharjistán, and the Zamín-i-Dáwar, and the title, Malik-ul-Hájí—for he had performed the pilgrimage to Makkah and Madinah—'Alá-ud-Dín, Muḥammad, was assigned him. He was dispossessed of his territory by his kinsman, the son of Sultán Ghiyás-ud-Dín, Muḥammad, namely, Sultán Ghiyás-ud-Dín, Maḥmúd; and the coins Nos. 133, 134, 135, and 136, are Maḥmúd's, on which he is styled "Us-Sultán-ul-A'zam, Ghiyás-ud-Dunyá wa ud-Dín, Abú-l-Fath, Maḥmúd, son of Muḥammad-i-Sám." It was this Sultán Maḥmúd, who confirmed Malik Táj-ud-Dín, I-yal-duz, in the sovereignty of Ghaz-nih, and Malik Kutb-ud-Dín, Í-bak-i-Shil, in the sovereignty of Dihlí. After Sultán Maḥmúd's assassination in 609 H. (1212-13 A. D.), the Malik-ul-Hájí, 'Alá-ud-Dín, Muḥammad, was restored for a time to the throne of Ghúr by Sultán Táj-ud-Dín, I-yal-duz, in 611 H. (1214-15 A. D.), and he then took the title of Sultán, after the death in battle of Sultán 'Alá-ud-Dín, Utsúz, of Ghúr, (No. XXI). The Malik-ul-Hájí was the last of the Shansabání Tájzík sovereigns of Ghúr. He, out of necessity, submitted to Sultán Muḥammad, the Khwárazm Sháh, and retired voluntarily to Khwárazm in 612 H. (1215-16 A. D.).†

Respecting the princess—the virgin bride—the daughter of Sultán Ghiyás-ud-Dín, Muḥammad-i-Sám, betrothed to Malik Tughán Sháh's son, Sanjar Sháh, and afterwards to the Malik-ul-Hájí, we have some

* Rukn-ud-Dín, Í-rán Sháh, was put to death in 607 H.; and the author of the *Tabakát-i-Násirí*, then in his 18th year, was standing at the palace gate at Fírúz-Koh when his head was brought in. See my translation, p. 396.

† See *Tabakát-i-Násirí*, pp. 346, 391, and 417, where more about him will be found.

interesting particulars from one personally acquainted with her and the other personages here named. She was styled Máh Malikah, and entitled, Jalál-ud-Dunyá wa ud-Dín; and her mother was the daughter of Sultán 'Alá-ud-Dín, Ḥusain-i-Jahán-soz (No. XIV). She knew the Ḳur'án by heart, knew likewise the Shihábí traditions, and her handwriting "was as pearls befitting a king." The reason why she passed from the world a maid has been already mentioned. The author of the Ṭabaqát-i-Náṣirí says (p. 392), that, "In beauty, purity, and self-restraint, she had no equal in the world," and adds:—"The mother of the writer of these pages was the foster-sister and school-companion of this princess; and this devotee [himself] was brought up in the princess's own hall of favour and her *ḥaram* of chastity, up to the period of his entering upon the bounds of adolescence, in the service of her royal dwelling, and her private apartments. The maternal uncles of this devotee and his maternal ancestors, were all attached to the service of that princess's Court, and to the Court of her father; and this humble individual [himself] received many proofs of that lady's favour and bounty. God reward her! At last her martyrdom and death took place in the territory of 'Iráq during the calamities which arose on the irruption of the infidels [the Mughals]. The mercy of the Almighty be upon her!" After Sultán Muḥammad, the Khwárazm Sháh, herein mentioned, had reduced the territories of the Sultáns of Ghúr and Ghaznih under his sway, all except their territories beyond the Indus, the members of the different Shansabání families were taken to Khwárazm, and the princess was there dwelling, when her last betrothed husband—Sultán 'Alá-ud-Dín, Muḥammad, the Malik-ul-Ḥájí and "Pearl of Ghúr" reached it. He took up his residence near her; and in the Khwárazm dominions they dwelt for some time, until his death about three years after. He was buried adjacent to the tomb of the Shaikh Abú-Yazíd at Bustám.* The princess had yet to bear further vicissitudes of fortune; but, at last, found rest from the world's troubles, as just related.

Respecting Coin No. 141, and the "Bení Zengí Aṭabegs of Mosil" Badr-ud-Din, Lú-lú, was, certainly, a ruler of Mauṣil, and exercised sway over it, but cannot be correctly styled one of the Baní Zangí. They were *Turks*, and their ancestor, entitled the Ḳasím-ud-Daulah, was Aḳ-Sunḳar, but whose name and Musalmán titles were, Abú Sa'id-i-'Abd-U'llah. He was familiarly known as Baban, the Chamberlain, one of the mam-lúks or slaves of Sultán Malik Sháh, the Saljúḳ, who made him Wálí of Ḥalab in 481 H. (1088-89 A. D.).

Malik Badr-ud-Dín, 'Abú-l-Fazá'il, Lú-lú, was an *Armenian* slave,

* See Ṭabaqát-i-Náṣirí, pp. 419-20.

one of the mam-lúks of the Malik-ul-'Ádil, Núr-ud-Dín, Arsalán Sháh, ruler of Mauṣil, Shám, and the Diyár-i-Bakr. On the death of Arsalán Sháh, the tenth of the dynasty, in Rajab, 607 H. (1211 A. D.), his son, 'Izz-ud-Dín, Mas'úd, entitled the Malik-ul-Ḳáhir, succeeded. He left the power in the hands of Badr-ud-Dín, Lú-lú. When 'Izz-ud-Dín, Mas'úd died on the 27th Rabí'-ul-Awwal, 615 H. (1218 A. D.), his brother, 'Imád-ud-Dín, Zangí, who was governor of 'Amádiah, ruled over that part for a time, but shortly after died. His infant son for a short time succeeded, but he also soon died, and the dynasty terminated. Malik Badr-ud-Din, Abú-l-Fazá'íl, Lú-lú, who used to direct the affairs of his territory, continued to rule over Mauṣil. On the appearance of Hulákú Khán, the Mughal, in those parts, Lú-lú tendered submission to him at Marághah, in Rajab, 656 H. (1258 A. D.), and was confirmed in possession of the territory.* Badr-ud-Din, Lú-lú, died in 657 H. aged 96, but some say he was over a hundred. His son, 'Ismá'íl, entitled the Malik-uṣ-Ṣálih, was permitted to succeed him, and Hulákú Khán gave him in marriage the daughter of the gallant, but unfortunate Sultán, Jalál-ud-Dín, Mang-barní, the Khwárazm Sháh, then with other Muḥammadan princes and princesses, captives in the hands of those infidels. The Malik-uṣ-Ṣálih unable longer to bear this iron yoke, subsequently joined his co-religionists of Miṣr against the infidels, but he was taken captive, after holding Mauṣil against them for several months, in Ramaẓán, 661 H. (1263 A. D.), and put to death in the most brutal manner by Hulákú's orders. The ferocious barbarian—"the great Hulagu"—directed that he should be enveloped in fat tails of the *dumbah* or fat-tailed sheep, sewn up in felt, placed on his back with his hands and feet fastened to the ground by four pegs, and then exposed to the burning heat of the summer sun, until, after a week, as was intended, the tails became putrid, and swarming with maggots, which began to attack the wretched victim, who, for a whole month, lingered in this Mughal torment. It was to such devilish doings as these that Ḳudúz, the Mam-lúk ruler of Miṣr,† referred when, after he had overthrown the Nú-yín, Ḳaibúká, the Náo mán, and taken him prisoner, near the 'Ayn-i-Jálút—Goliatt's Spring—in Syria, he taunted him, saying that "they could do nothing like men." The Malik-uṣ-Ṣálih, 'Ismá'íl, left a son, a babe of two or three years old, named 'Alá-ud-Dín, who was taken back to Mauṣil, and cut in twain, one-half of the child's corpse being suspended on one side of the Dijlah, and the other on the Mauṣil side, and left there to rot as a warning of Mughal vengeance. What became of Sultán Jalál-ud-Dín's daughter, the Malik-uṣ-Ṣálih's wife, has not transpired.

* See also Ṭabaḳát-i-Náṣirí, p. 1247.

† He was a Turk-mán, and the Turk-máns were the hereditary enemies of the Mughals.

It will be seen, therefore, that a great and curious connection exists between the whole of the persons here mentioned, and the rulers whose names are impressed on these coins, from Sultán Takish Khán of Khwárazm, to the Malik-uş-Şáliḥ 'Ismá'il of Mauşil.

COINS OF SIJISTÁN.

Coin No. 149, read as that of "Asadu-d-dín bin Harab," cannot possibly refer to Asad-ud-Dín, for Asad, which I presume the top word on the reverse is supposed to represent, is written *اسد* not *اصع* as on the coin, and this last is certainly meant for *اصع* 'uzd—'support, 'assistance,' also 'an aider or supporter,' and part of the title, 'Uzd-ud-Din. When Malik Shiháb-ud-Dín, Mahmúd, son of Harab (Malik IX in the list), took possession of Sistán, another party set up Sháh 'Uşmán, a grandson of Náşir-ud-Dín, 'Uşmán, son of Táj-ud-Dín-i-Harab, who sought assistance from the Khwárazmí officers of Kirmáns, and when Malik Shiháb-ud-Dín, Mahmúd, was put to death, his brother, Amír 'Alí, the Záhíd or Recluse, was set up. Subsequently we are told (page 200 of the *Tabakát-i-Náşirí*,) that, "the rival Maliks of Ním-roz were struggling against each other," and, that, "the grandson of Náşir-ud-Dín, 'Uşmán, whom they styled by the name of Sháh, sought assistance from the Malik of Kirmán," etc. The coin in question may possibly have been coined by one of these rivals, who assumed the titles of 'Uzd-ud-Dín, and Abú-l-Muzaffar. It must also be remembered that the Khwárazmí officer sent to the aid of Sháh 'Uşmán, Binál-Tigín, the Turk, who appropriated Sijistán on his own account, was entitled Táj-ud-Dín. Be these speculations what they may, I can only say, that the names given in my list in the Journal Part I, for 1885, are the whole of those mentioned in history; and I have left no accessible history unsearched.

"MONGOL IL-KHANS OF PERSIA."

I am much puzzled to understand why some European writers, who surely must know better, will persist in styling the Chingiz or Great Khán—for that is the meaning of the word Chingiz—"JINJIS" Khán (see Journal No. 2 of 1887, page 90, first line in the lower inscription,)* and why they suppose that he coined money, more particularly coupled with the name of the Khalífah, "Un-Náşir-ud-Dín U'llah, Amír-ul-Mumínín" thereon. The title Khákán-i-A'zam" is much more applicable to the Ká'án, Uktáe, or even to Hulá-

* When it is even cut in stone or marble on a tomb چنگیز, not چنگیز, people will still call it *Jingíz* and *Jinjís*.

kú Khán, the first of the Il-Kháníáns, than to his grandfather, the Chingiz Khán,* but the coin, No. 153 is evidently that of a Musalmán ruler, a feudatory of the Khiláfat, who had to submit to the hard yoke of the infidel Mughals† and to impress it with the semi-Turkish title of Kháqán-i-A'zam; for Kháqán is a purely Turkish word. The Khalífah, Un-Násir-ud-Dín U'llah, died in Ramazán, 622 H. (1225 A. D.), up to which period the Mughals had made no permanent conquests in Írán Zamín; and Sultán Jalál-ud-Dín, the Khwárazm Sháh, was still powerful in those parts until 628 H., six years after that Khalífah's decease. It was not until the reign of the Ká'án (قائ), Uktáe, after his becoming firmly established on the throne—for it was not filled for two years and a half after the death of the Chingiz Khán—that armies were despatched westwards since the return of the Chingiz Khán, and his death. In 626 H. (1229 A. D.) the Nú-yín, Jurmághún, was sent into 'Írák, against Sultán Jalál-ud-Dín, the Khwárazm Sháh, and the Nú-yín, Mangútah, (the same who afterwards invested U'chchh) towards Ghaz-nih. It is stated in the history of that reign, that to Mangútah was assigned the occupation of Tukháristán, Kunduz, and Tal-қан; for the then Musalmán Maliks of Khurásán, Ghúr, Kirmán, and Fárs, all proceeded to the presence of the Great Ká'án, Uktáe, at Kará-Kuram, and requested that Shahnahs or Intendants might be sent to them, thus placing their necks under the yoke‡ “After this,” says the historian, “Khurásán began to thrive again;” but the army of above 100,000 horse under Jurmághún slaughtered and ravaged all the tracts they passed through§; and it was part of Jurmághún's forces which surprised the camp of Sultán Jalál-ud-Dín, the Khwárazm Sháh, who was put off his guard by the false report of a patrol. The Sultán, who was asleep at the time, succeeded in making his escape. He turned devotee and disappeared from the scene, but is said to have lived for sixty years after that. The Shaikh, 'Alá-ud-Daulah, Al-Byabánkí-us Simnání, relates under the events of the year 688 H. (1289 A. D.) as follows:—“When at Baghdád, I used daily, at noon, to wait upon the pious and venerable Shaikh, Núr-ul-Hakḳ wa ud-Dín, 'Abd-ur-Raḥmán-i-Isfaráíní—may his tomb be sanctified! I happened to go upon one occasion, at the usual hour, and found him absent from his abode, a

* I do not think any history can be named in which it is stated that Timúr-chí, the Chingiz Khán, ever assumed such a title as “Kháqán,” or Kháqán, and in the absence of some such authority for the assertion that he did, the statement may be regarded as purely imaginary.

† See Tabakát-i-Násirí pp. 995 and 1266.

‡ See also Tabakát-i-Násirí pp. 1115 and 1126.

§ See Tabakát-i-Násirí p. 1117.

rather unusual occurrence at that time of the day. I went again on the following morning to wait upon him, and inquired as to the cause of his absence on the previous day. He replied, 'My absence was caused through Sultán Jalál-ud-Dín, Mang-barní, having been received into the Almighty's mercy.' I inquired, 'What, had he been living all this time?' He answered, 'You may have noticed a certain aged man, with a mole upon his nose, who was wont to stay at a certain place,' which he named. I had often remarked the venerable devotee in question; and that was the heroic, but unfortunate Sultán, Jalál-ud-Dín." According to this account Sultán Jalál-ud-Dín could not have died until 688H., about sixty years after the period above-mentioned.

From all this it is quite clear, that the coin in question, No. 153, must be that of one of the Musalmán Maliks, a feudatory of the Khalífah, Un-Náşir-ud-Dín U'llah, who had to submit at the time of the inroad of the Nú-yíns, Jabah and Swídáe, in 617 H. (1220 A. D.), who passed through those parts like a destroying whirlwind, and returned by the northern shores of the Caspian to the presence of the Chingiz Khán in the fourth month of 620H. (1223 A. D.)

I may also mention, that, in no history is it stated that the Chingiz Khán coined money, nor is it stated that he ever assumed the title of Khákán, which, as I have said before, is much more applicable to Uktáe than to his grandfather, and to stamp coins with the name of the Khalífah is still more impossible; and, besides, they would have Mughal inscriptions, on one side at least, even if coined in Í-rán Zamín. For a considerable period the Mughals coined ingots (bálish) only.* The Íl-Kháníán dynasty, moreover, was not established for thirty-four years after the death of the Khalífah above-mentioned, and the total fall of the Khiláfat at Baghdád; and the first Íl-Khán was Hulákú Khán himself.

Coin No. 174. There was no member of this dynasty named "Quázán," but Gházán (غازان) Khán, the seventh of the dynasty, was one of the most illustrious of them. He was the son of Arghún

* The bálishs of Uktáe Ká'án are mentioned in several histories. One, the Lubb-ut-Tawárikh, goes farther and says, referring to the great liberality of the Ká'án, that no one ever left his dargah without experiencing it, and that during his reign he expended in this manner no less than 160,000 tománs of bálishs of gold. It is also stated, that, according to some accounts, the bálish-i-zar contained 500 mişkáls; according to other accounts, it was of the value of eight dirams and two dángs; and according to others, of the value of eight dínárs and two dángs. The Musalmán diram and dínár are said to have been equivalent to a sequin or ducat. Another writer, under the head of bálish-i-zar, says, it contained eight mişkáls and two dángs of gold, and was in use by the sovereigns of the Turks and Mughals. See also Tabakát-i-Náşirí, p. 1141.

Khán, son of Abaká Khán, son of Hulákú, who succeeded in the year 694H. (1294-95 A. D.). He was the first of them who became a convert to Islám in that same year, and commanded all churches of the Christians, and idol temples (of Mughals) at Tabríz to be destroyed; consequently, previous to that period, any coin with the Musalmán *kalímah* thereon, even with the name of one of the Il-Kháns on it as well, would, in all probability, be a coin of a Musalmán feudatory under the yoke of these Mughals, who would scarcely have adopted the Musalmán *kalímah* on their coins when they were more inclined to the Christians. Hulákú's wife, Dúkúz Khátún, and several others among them, were Christians. On his conversion, Gházán Khán assumed the title of Sultán Mahmúd-i-Gházán Khán. He died in Shawwál 703 H. (1303 A. D.), near Kazwín, and was buried at Tabríz, where a lofty domed tomb was raised over him, and is probably still in existence.

With respect to the coin No. 178, with the name of "Sultán Arghún," thereon, the words *لعلك توتي الملك من تشا* on the margin, is part of a verse from the *Qur'án*, Chapter 58:—"Possessor of all power, THOU givest dominion unto whom THOU wilt, and THOU takest away dominion from whom THOU wilt; THOU exaltest whom THOU wilt, and THOU humblest whom THOU wilt." This is the same verse which Abú Sulímán, Dá'úd-i-Jaghar Beg, the Saljúk, heard the Mu'azzin at Marw reciting, when the envoy of Sultán Mas'úd of Ghaz-nih, presented himself before him. Dá'úd was at that time seated on his saddle cloth spread on the ground, with his saddle to support him, and he ordered this verse to be written down and given to the envoy as his answer to the Sultán's demands.

The mint name on coin No. 183, is not *حنونسان* as "read by Mr. Rodgers," but the well-known place called *چنوشان*—Janúshán.

"BUKHÁRÁ HOUSE OF TÍMÚR."

Respecting coin No. 188, it is hardly correct to style the Sultán Sháh Rukh Mírzá, as "of the *Bukhárá* House of Tímúr," because soon after his accession in Ramazán, 807 H. (1404 A. D.), he ruled the whole of his father's dominions, from Khítá to Rúm, and from Tabaristán to Hindústán, in the western part of which, under the Masnad-i-A'lá, the Sayyid, Khizr Khán, the *khutbáh* was read for him and the money stamped with his name. His capital was Hirát, which territory he had governed seven years during his father's lifetime, while his father's capital was Samr-ḳand, not Bukhárá. Sultán Sháh Rukh Mírzá, was not "Tímúr's youngest son,"* but his *second* son of four, the eldest having died before his father. Sultán Sháh Rukh

* See Journal for 1887, page 88.

Mírzá died 29th Zí-Ḥijjah, 850 H. (29th March, 1446 A. D.), after reigning forty-three years, consequently, the coin No. 191 assigned to him, if the date 848 H. is correct, is his, of course, but if 868 H. it is not. It is said to be *counter-struck* with the name of Sultán Abú-Sa'íd.* In the 'Arabic character given at page 41 of Journal, it is *ابوسعيد* instead of *ابوسعيد* Sultán—Mírzá Abú-Sa'íd, Bahádur Khán—was the grandson of Mírzá Mirán Sháh, Tímúr's fourth son, who ruled in Máwará-un-Nahr and Turkistán, and whose capital was Samr-ḳand. He ascended the throne of Samr-ḳand in Jamádí-ul-Awwal, 855 H. (1451 A. D.), and, some years after, dispossessed the descendants of Sultán Sháh Rukh Mírzá of Khurásán and parts farther west, and acquired the whole power over Sultán, Sháh Rukh Mírzá's dominions, in 861 H. (1456-57 A. D.), and lost it again, but regained it in 863 H. (1458-59 A. D.). He was at last put to death, after being taken captive in battle by the Turk-mán, Ḥasan Beg, the Ak-Kúnílú, who gave him up to Mírzá Yád-gár Muḥammad, son of Sultán Muḥammad, son of Mírzá Bá'e-Sunḳar, the last of Sultán Sháh Rukh Mírzá's descendants, who put him to death 22nd Rajab, 873 H. (January, 1469 A. D.) in retaliation for his putting to death, most unjustly, when he gained possession of Hirát the first time, in 861 H., Gohar-Shád Bígam,† the venerable consort of Sultán Sháh Rukh Mírzá. He ruled over Máwará-un-Nahr, etc., eighteen years, and ten years over those parts and Khurásán and the rest of the empire possessed by the last named monarch.

Coin No. 193. "Husain Baikara, Governor of Khorásán" (?). Mírzá Ḥusain-i-Bá'é-ḳará, was the son of Mírzá Sultán Maḥmúd, one of the sons of Sultán Mírzá Abú-Sa'íd, Bahádur Khán, above-mentioned, who succeeded his brother, Mírzá Sultán Aḥmad, over Máwará-un-Nahr at Samr-ḳand. When his father died in Muḥarram, 900 H. (October, 1494 A. D.), Mírzá Ḥusain-i-Bá'e-ḳará, who succeeded, deprived his brother, Mírzá Sultán 'Alí, of his sight, as was supposed, but his eye-sight was not wholly destroyed. He fled to, and raised an army at, Bukhárá, and advanced to Samr-ḳand. Bá'e-ḳará was unable to oppose him, concealed himself in the city, and subsequently escaped in disguise, and retired to the Ḥiṣár-i-Shádmán, the place of his birth,—the

* Whether the counter striking of coins had any particular signification I am not certain, but it seems to me, that it had in this instance, and that it was done by Sultán Abú-Sa'íd, Bahádur Khán, to indicate that he had dispossessed the family of Sultán Sháh Rukh Mírzá of that monarch's empire.

† Mírzá Yád-gár Muḥammad was her great-grandson. The Pul-i-Khán that one used to hear so much about when the Russians seized upon the Afghan dependencies of Hirát, and were allowed to keep them, is said to have been erected at the expense of this Princess.

“Hissar” of our maps—where he was subsequently blinded and put to death by the Ḥákim of that part, Amír Khursau Sháh, after he had set him up as sovereign there, in Muḥarram, 905 H. (August, 1499 A. D.) “Husain Baikara” was, consequently, never “Governor of Khorásán.”

Of course, this “Husain Baikara, Governor of Khorásán” cannot be meant for Sultán Ḥusain Mírzá, son of Manşúr, son of Bá'e-ḵará, son of 'Umar Shaikh, son of Amír Tímúr. Sultán Ḥusain Mírzá was, perhaps, the most illustrious of the dynasty which ruled over Khurásán, and during his reign Hirát became the chief seat of learning and the arts.

This Prince, in the struggle for power, drove the Turk-máns out of Astar-ábád and its territory and assumed sovereignty over it, but his position was precarious on account of the superior power of Sultán Abú-Sa'id, Bahádur Khán, then ruling at Hirát. When the latter fell into the hands of the Turk-máns, Sultán Ḥusain Mírzá made a dash upon Hirát, possessed himself of it, and again assumed the sovereignty. Mírzá Yád-gár, Muḥammad, however, with his adherents, and aided by the Turk-máns, moved against him, and he had to fly in Ramazán, 874 H. (1470 A. D.). He soon recovered it again. Having made a forced march with a small following from Maimanab, he surprised Mírzá Yád-gár, Muḥammad, asleep in a drunken state, in the Bágh-i-Zághán of Hirát, in Şafar, 875 H. (August, 1470 A. D.), and put him to death. Sultán Ḥusain Mírzá was now without a rival, and he reigned uninterruptedly from that time up to the year 911 H. (1506 A. D.), when the Uzbaks under their Sultán, Shaibání Khán, invaded his territory. He was ill at the time; and on the 16th of Zí-Ḥijjah of that year (May) died at the halting place of Bábá Uldí of the well known district of Bádghais, for centuries the mustering place for armies on account of its luxuriant pasturage, and convenient proximity to Hirát, but respecting the past history of which almost nothing was known to the authorities when the Russians lately seized upon the best parts of the province of Hirát, and not much more now, but I shall throw some light upon it in the concluding portion of my “NOTES ON AFGHÁNISTÁN.”

“ŞAFAWÍ DYNASTY OF PERSIA.”

With regard to the coins said to be of the Şafawí Dynasty of Persia, that dynasty finally terminated with Sháh Ḥusain in 1135 H. (1722 A. D.), for his son, Ṭhamásib, and the latter's infant son, 'Abbás, were but puppets in the hands of Nádír Ḷulí Beg, the Afshár Turk-mán, afterwards Nádír Sháh. The Şafawí dynasty having been subverted by the Ghalzí Afgháns, coins Nos. 207 and 208 are not of the Şafawí

dynasty, but of the Ghalzí dynasty, being coins of the two Ghalzí Sultáns, Maḥmúd and Ashraf. Neither can coins of Nádír Kulí Beg, the Ashraf Turk-mán, and his sons, be styled of the Ṣafawí dynasty, any more than those of Karím Khán, the Zand, who, during the struggle for power, after the fall of Nádír Sháh, ruled over southern Persia, nor those of his rival, and subsequent true friend and adherent, the Afghán, Azád Khán, nor coins of the Káchár Turk-máns, who finally obtained the power, and who still retain it,* and, therefore, Nos. 212, 213, and 214 are not those of the Ṣafawí dynasty, but of the Afshárs and Zand dynasties.

The coins Nos. 225, 229, 230 and 231, classed under “ Afghánistán ” along with those of Durrání sovereigns, but undetermined, cannot possibly be styled correctly as belonging to Afghánistán, nor to an Afghán dynasty. Hirát was the capital of Khurásán; and in 919 H. (1513 A. D.), the period mentioned thereon, there was no Afghán *State*, nor for some two centuries after that period. What Afghánistán means will be found in my “NOTES” thereon, page 453. In the year in question, 919 H., Sháh Ismá’íl, the Ṣafawí, was in possession of Hirát and Khurásán. He had, after the overthrow of Shaibání Khán, the Uzbek Sultán, near Marw, in 916 H. (1510-11 A. D.), annexed Hirát and Khurásán to his dominions. In 918 H. (1512-13 A. D.), while Zahír-ud-Dín, Muḥammad Bábar Mírzá, afterwards the founder of the Mughal dynasty in India, was fighting against the Uzbaks, and had been defeated by them, the Kazil-básh troops, under the Ṣafawí leader, known as the Najm-i-Ṣání,† at Bábar’s urgent call, again advanced into Máwará-un-Nahr to his aid; but they were overthrown and put to flight by the Uzbaks, and the Ṣafawí general killed, on the 7th Ramazán, 918 H. On this the Uzbaks at once entered Khurásán again, and Muḥammad Tímúr Khán, Shaibání’s son, ruler of Samr-ḳand, assumed the sovereignty over Hirát and its dependencies; while his brother’s son, ‘Abd-ullah Khán, who held the Bukhárá territory, seized upon the Mashhad-i-Rizawí and other parts of Khurásán. On this, Sháh Ismá’íl, Ṣafawí,

* When the present Sháh, who is a Káchár Turk-mán, visited England lately, one of the London newspapers of some repute assured its readers, that he was descended from the ancient fire-workshping kings of the Medes and Persians, if not a direct descendant from Jamshed or Noshírwán the Just!

† I notice in several places in recent numbers of the “Journal” and “Proceedings,” that ‘Azíz-ud-Dín, Muḥammad, the Second ‘Alam-gír, Bádsháh of the Dihlí empire, who ruled in the stormy period between 1754 and 1759, has been turned into “Zání.” Although not a very bright genius, and very unfortunate, he was not an *idiot*: he was quite *compos mentis*. The word of his title after ‘Alam-gír is the ‘Arabic word *ṣání*—‘Alam-gír-i-Ṣání, not “Zání,” and of course signifies ‘second’—“The Second ‘Alam-gír.” See “Proceedings” for 1890, page 180.

once more hastened into Khurásán to drive out the Uzbaks, for which purpose he set out in the spring of 919 H. (1513 A. D.). On his approach the Uzbaks fled. He remained in Khurásán and Hirát after that for two or three months, and conferred the Government of Hirát and all Khurásán on Zaníl Beg, the Shámlú Amír; but, in 921 H. (1515 A. D.), he nominated his son, Thamásib, then a mere child, to the government of Hirát and Khurásán, with Amír Khán, one of his great nobles, as his Atábak or Lálah (governor). The coin in question, No. 229, must, consequently, have been struck while Sháh Ismá'il was at Hirát, or soon after, by Zaníl Beg, the Shámlú, as governor of Khurásán.

On a future occasion I may offer some remarks on the Afrásiyábí Kháns of Máwará-un-Nahr and their coins.

On a Symbolical Coin of the Wetháli dynasty of Arakan.—By W. THEOBALD

In his article on the coins of Arakan, Pegu, and Burma, in the *Numismata Orientalia* Lieutenant-General Sir A. P. Phayre describes and figures nine coins which he refers to four kings, *viz.*, Varma Chandra, Priti Chandra, Varma Vájaya, and Yari Kriya, the last represented by a single coin only, the initial character of which is not clear. I have lately become possessed of a second specimen of this coin, also unfortunately not quite clear as regards the first letter of the king's name. General Sir A. Cunningham points out, however, that the first and last letters, on both my coin and that figured by Sir A. P. Phayre are clearly different, and the name cannot therefore be Yari Kriya, which, moreover, is no name. He suggests as a possible reading the name 'Arikiya' but more perfect specimens must be discovered before this reading can be confidently accepted. The coin, however, clearly belongs to the 'recumbent bull' type of the symbolical coins of Arakan, and may be thus described:—

Obverse. A bull to the left, recumbent (though from the poor execution of some coins the animal might be considered as standing), within a circle having exteriorly a beaded margin. The king's name written straight across the coin, above the bull's back.

Reverse. A central upright 'thyrsiform' object or pole, with an upright sickle-shaped support on either side; all three being supported by, or contained within, a concave horizontal base, but unconnected therewith. From the point of either 'sickle' shaped object, flows backwards and outwards, a curved fillet or plume-like band ornamented with seven globes, connected with the fillet by curved items imparting an elegant wavy or arborescent effect; while below the central ornament